

Message Text

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ACTION H-03

INFO OCT-01 NEA-09 ISO-00 SS-07 NSC-06 AID-01 RSC-01 /028 W

----- 062680

R 280942Z JAN 75

FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5394

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GERMANY

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 5 TEL AVIV 0606

DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS TOM FLAHERTY IN SENATOR'S OFFICE

E.O.11652: N/A

TAGS: OREP(PERCY, CHARLES)

SUBJECT: SENATOR PERCY'S TEL AVIV PRESS CONFERENCE

REF: TEL AVIV 533

FOLLOWING IS TRANSCRIPT OF Q&A OF PRESS CONFERENCE HELD BY
SENATOR PERCY IN TEL AVIV JAN 23. OPENINGSTATEMENT WAS
TRANSMITTED REFTEL.

1.Q. SENATOR, WHAT MESSAGE AE YOU BRINGINGBACK FOR THE
FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE? WHAT WILL YOU TELL THEM? WHAT
HAVE THEY ASKED YOU TO FIND OUT?

A. I AM ONE OFTHE FIFTEEN MEMBERS OF THAT COMMITTE NOW,
AND EACH OS US ACT A GREAT DEAL ON OUR OWN INITIATIVE. THE
CONCEPT OF THE TRIP WAS MY OWN. I HAVE LONG WANTED TO MAKE
A TRIP BOTH TO THE ARAB NATIONS AND BACK TO ISRAEL, AND
I DISCUSSED IT SOMETIME AGO WITH SECRETARY KISSINGER, I
DISCUSSED IT IN DETAIL THEN WIH NELSON ROCKEFELLER THE DAY
HE WAS SWORN IN AS VICE PRESIDENT, AND DISCUSSED IT WITH
PRESIDENT FORD. I DUSCUSSED IT ALSO WITH THE RANKING MEMBERS

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OF OUR COMMITTEE, THE MAJORITY CHAIRMAN NOW, JOHN SPARKMAN,

AND WITH OUR RANKING REPUBLICAN SENATOR CASE. BUT THE CONCLUSIONS WILL BE MY OWN. THE REPORT THAT I'LL MAKE WILL BE MADE TO THE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE. I AM JOINED BY DR. MEISSNER, A MEMBER OF THE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE STAFF AND MR. CALVIN FENTRESS, LONG A MEMBER OF MY OWN SENATE STAFF. WE ARE STOPPING OFF IN ROME TO SEE JOHN VOLPE, HAVE DINNER WITH HIM AND SPEND 24 HOURS WRITING OUR REPORT. UNTIL SUCH TIME AS I DO REPORT TO THE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE AND TO THE PRESIDENT, I THINK I SHOULD NOT COMMENT ON CONCLUSIONS THAT I HAVE REACHED BECAUSE WE HAVE BEEN ON SUCH A HEAVY SCHEDULE THAT I WANT TO HAVE THAT 24 HOUR PERIOD TO REFLECT AND DISCUSS WITH MY COLLEAGUES OUR OBSERVATIONS, BUT I WOULD BE HAPPY TO COMMENT ON ANY PARTICULAR QUESTION THAT YOU'D LIKE TO RAISE.

2.Q. SENATOR, YOU SAY IN YOUR OPENING STATEMENT THAT YOU LEAVE ISRAEL CONVINCED THAT THE OPPORTUNITY FOR AN HONORABLE SETTLEMENT OF ARAB/ISRAELI DIFFERENCES HAS RARELY BEEN GREATER THAN NOW. NOW CAN I ASK WHAT MAKES YOU SO OPTIMISTIC? ARE THERE ALSO OTHER FACTORS FOR IT?

A. YES, THE OPTIMISM THAT I HAVE IS FIRST OF ALL THAT FOUR WARS HAVE PROVEN TO THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD IN THIS AREA THAT THEY REALLY DO NOT AND HAVE NOT SOLVED THE PROBLEM. THERE IS A CRUSHING DEFENSE LOAD, CRUSHING ON THE PEOPLES THAT ARE IN DIRECT CONFLICT. THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL FEEL IT. THE PEOPLE OF EGYPT FEEL IT. THE PEOPLE OF JORDAN HAVE FELT IT. THE PEOPLE OF SYRIA HAVE FELT IT AND OTHER NATIONS HAVE FELT IT, THOUGH SOME OBVIOUSLY HAVE VERY LARGE RESOURCES AND NOT HAVING BEEN IN DIRECT CONFRONTATION FEEL IT LESS. I THINK THAT'S A MAJOR FACTOR THAT MUST BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT. THIRD, I FEEL THAT HAVING TALKED WITH EVERY LEADER IN THE AREA, AND THOSE DOWN IN THE GULF AND KING FEISAL AND OTHERS, AND, HAVING TALKED TO A GREAT MANY OF THEIR PEOPLE, I FEEL A DEEP LONGING FOR PEACE ON BOTH SIDES, WITH A RECOGNITION THAT AT THIS TIME WE HAVE MODERATION IN THAT LEADERSHIP, AND I SEE A DESIRE TO NOT BE PRESSED INTO WAR BY THOSE HAWKS AND THOSE HARDLINERS WHOSE ONLY ANSWER IS WAR AND WHO HAVE NOT FOUND PEACE THROUGH WAR. IT REMINDS ME ALMOST OF THE GENERAL WHO SAID THAT HE HAD TO DESTROY THE TOWN IN VIETNAM IN ORDER TO SAVE IT, AND WE CAN'T STAND TO BE SAVED AND FIND PEACE TOO MANY TIMES THIS

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WAY. SO WE HAVE MODERATION AND REASONABLENESS TO A DEGREE AMONG THE LEADERSHIP. WE HAVE THAT UNIQUE CHARACTERISTIC IN HENRY KISSINGER, HIGHLY RESPECTED IN HIS OWN COUNTRY, VOTED THE MOST RESPECTED MAN IN THE WORLD BY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, AND TRUSTED AND RESPECTED ON BOTH SIDES, WILLING TO PUT HIS ENERGY AND HIS EFFORT AND HIS ENDLESS TIME AND THOUGHT INTO THIS MATTER, NOT TO IMPOSE A PEACE, BUT MAN WHO THOROUGHLY UNDERSTANDS ALL FACTORS AND WHO HAS THAT

GIFT TO BE ABLE TO TAKE FROM BOTH SIDES SUFFICIENTLY AND TO
TAKE WHAT WE HOPE WILL BE THE NEXT STEP AND THE NEXT STEP AND
THEN FINALLY THE ULTIMATE STEP.

3.Q. PRESIDENT SADAT HAS SAID THAT THERE SHOULD BE A 3-MONTH
DEADLINE AND THAT THERE SHOULD BE PROGRESS ON ALL 3 FRONTS OR
ELSE HE WOULD GO TO GENEVA AND EXPLODE THE SITUATION. PRIME
MINISTER RABIN IN HIS SPEECH IN JERUSALEM TODAY HAS REJECTED
THAT WHOLESADAT LINE OUTOF HAND.DO YOU AGREE WITH SADAT OR
RABIN?

A. NEITHERONE OF THEM. BECAUSE PRESIDENT SADAT DOESN'T AGREE
WITH HIMSELF.I READ AN ACCOUNT THIS MORNINGOF AN INTERVIEW
THAT HE GAVE ATASWAN, AND HE DID NOT IMPOSE A 3 MONTH LIMITATION.
I SPENT A LONG TIME TALKING WITH PRESIDENT SADAT. I AM NOT PRI-
VILEGED TO QUOTE HIM. I TOLD HIM AT THE OUTSET, IT WAS A PRIVATE
MEETING, THAT I FOUND HIM A VERY REASONABLE, HIGHLY INTELLIGENT,
MODERATE MAN, DEEPLY DESIRIOUS OF PEACE. AND IN LE MONDE YES-
TERDAY WHEN HE SAID THERE WAS NOT AN ARBITRARY 3-MONTH DEADLINE,
I THINK HE CLARIFIED HIS STATMENT. BUT WHAT HE DOES NEED,
AND WHAT HE WANTS AND WHAT EVERY SINGLE LEADER IN THIS WHOLE
AREA OF CONFLICT WANTSIS STEADY PROGRESS. WE RE LOSING
MOMENTUM NOW. HE IS DEEPLY CONCERNED AND HE ALSO WANTS TO
BE ASSURED THAT THERE IS GOING TO BE AN EVENNESS ABOUT THIS.
HE IS CONCERNED ABOUT HIS ARAB BROTHERS IN SYRIA, HE IS
WORRIED BOUT THE CONDITIONS IN SOUTH LEBANON AND ALSO
CONCERNEDABOUT THE PALESTINIAN RIGHT, AND HE WOULD LIKE
TO SEE EVENHANDED PROGRESS ALL THE WAY AROUND. AND WHEN
HE TOLD ME THAT, HE DID AUTHORIZE ME TO INDICATE THAT HE HAD
SAID THAT.

NOTE BY OC/T: ENTIRE MESSAGE NOT/NOT PASSED MR. FLAHERTY.
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ACTION H-03

INFO OCT-01 NEA-09 ISO-00 SS-07 NSC-06 AID-01 RSC-01 /028 W

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R 280942Z JAN 75

FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5395

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN BY POUCH

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT BY POUCH

AMEMBASSY CAIRO BY POUCH

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS BY POUCH

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM BY POUCH
AMEMBASSY JIDDA BY POUCH
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GERMANY BY POUCH

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4. Q. YOU SAID THAT IF ISRAEL MAKES THE FIRST STRIKE AND CREATES THE CONDITIONS THAT LEAD TO WAR, WHAT IS IT EXACTLY? WHAT ARE THE CONDITIONS THAT LEAD TO WAR? WHAT WOULD THE UNITED STATES THEN DO? IN OTHER WORDS DO WE HAVE THE CONDITIONS THAT WE HAD IN 1967? WOULD THAT MEAN THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD NOT SUPPORT ISRAEL?

A. I THINK PROBABLY AT THIS STAGE THE UNITED STATES KNOWS INTIMATELY MORE ABOUT THE DETAILS, THE CONDITIONS ON THE BORDERS, AND A SENATOR SUCH AS MYSELF HAS NOW SPENT 24 OR 25 DAYS TOURING EVERY BORDER, WALKING IN THE GOLAN HEIGHTS, WALKING THROUGH KUNEITRA, GOING INTO EVERY AREA, TALKING WITH THE NORWEGIANS ON THE SYRIAN FRONT, JUST AS I HAVE TALKED TO UN OBSERVERS ON OTHER FRONTS. I AM ONE OF A NUMBER. WE HAVE SENATOR MATHIAS, SENATOR INOUE. WE HAVE 30 OR 40 OF OUR OUTSTANDING INDUSTRIALISTS I THINK DUE HERE TODAY OR TOMORROW INTIMATELY ACQUAINTING THEMSELVES. I DON'T THINK AMERICA HAS EVER TRIED TO PREPARE ITSELF BETTER TO PLAY THE ROLE IT IS EXPECTED TO PLAY BY BOTH ISRAEL AND THE ARAB WORLD NOW. LET THERE BE NO MISCALCULATION. I KNOW HOW DIFFICULT IT IS TO UNDERSTAND WHO MADE THE FIRST STRIKE OR WHO PROVOKED WHOM. IT IS OUR JOB TO DETERMINE WHO IS WRONG AND WHO IS RIGHT. THERE ARE NO MORE DEMONSTRATED FRIENDS OF ISRAEL THROUGH MY RECORD FOR 29 YEARS THAN MYSELF AND OTHERS THAT I KNOW OF IN THE UNCLASSIFIED

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CONGRESS. AS A FRIEND OF ISRAEL, I SAY RIGHT HERE IN TEL AVIV, AS I DID IN JERUSALEM, IT IS NOT A QUESTION OF ISRAEL RIGHT OR WRONG. WE WILL NOT BACK A PROVOKED ATTEMPT BY ANYONE TO START A FIFTH WAR IN THE MIDST OF THESE EXTRAORDINARY MEASURES WHEN WE ARE PUTTING OUR ENTIRE NATIONAL PRESTIGE BEHIND FINDING A SOLUTION PEACFULLY AND THROUGH NEGOTIATION TO THIS PROBLEM. NO NATION COULD DO MORE TO WORK TOGETHER TO ADEQUATELY INSURE THAT THERE IS NO MISCALCULATION AND THAT ISRAEL IS ADEQUATELY PREPARED. NO NATION THROUGH ITS OWN MAN AND WOMAN POWER HAS DONE MORE TO PREPARE ITSELF TO DEFEND ITSELF. IT HAS ALL BEEN IN THE NAME OF DEFENSE. AND LET THERE BE NO MORE PREMPTIVE STRIKES NOW. WE HAVE HAD ENOUGH OF THOSE ON BOTH SIDES. LET THIS FIFTH WAR, IF THERE IS TO BE ONE, LET US NOT GO INTO IT THROUGH MISCALCULATION. I SAY THAT AS A FRIEND OF ISRAEL BUT ALSO FULLY SUPPORTIVE OF OUR POLICY TO BE EVENHANDED ENOUGH SO THAT WE CAN BE AN INFLUENCE AT BRINGING BOTH SIDES TOGETHER. THERE IS NO OTHER NATION, NO OTHER LEADERS OF NATIONS IN THAT POSITION TODAY, TO HELP BRING ABOUT PEACE. AND SECRETARY KISSINGER HAS

THAT UNIQUE POSITION. I FEEL THAT THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES WILL STAND CLOSER TO THE PRESIDENT, VICE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY OF STATE ON THIS ISSUE THAN WE WOULD PROBABLY HAVE ON ANY OTHER MAJOR FOREIGN POLICY ISSUE FOR MANY MANY DECADES.

5. Q. DO YOU THINK THE ISRAELI ADMINISTRATION IS FLEXIBLE ENOUGH IN ITS POSTURE IN THE PEACE TALKS?

A. I HOPE SO. OBVIOUSLY, WHEN YOU SAY THE ISRAELI ADMINISTRATION YOU KNOW THERE ARE DIFFERENCES OF OPINION WITHIN THE ADMINISTRATION. WE HAVE DIFFERENCES OF OPINION WITHIN OUR GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES AND THEY ARE PERFECTLY OBVIOUS. BUT YOU HAVE A PRIME MINISTER FOR WHOM WE HAVE A HIGH REGARD. HE KNOWS AND HE UNDERSTANDS THE MOOD OF AMERICA. I DON'T THINK HE WILL MISCALCULATE. HE WILL NOT COUNT ON SOMETHING THAT CANNOT BE COUNTED UPON. I LOOK UPON HIM AS A REASONABLE MAN, AS A MODERATE MAN, AND I HAVE SO PRESENTED HIM TO THE RULERS IN THE ARAB WORLD. I HAVE INDICATED THIS IS THEIR CHANCE TO DEAL WITH SOMEONE I FEEL IS REASONABLE JUST AS I SAY TO PRIME MINISTER RABIN THAT IN MY JUDGMENT THE LEADERSHIP FOR THE MOST PART IN THE ARAB WORLD TODAY WILL QUELL THE EXTREMISTS AND CONTROL

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THOSE THAT WILL DRIVE THEM INTO A WAR PROVIDING THERE IS STEADY STEADY PROGRESS AND MOMENTUM TOWARD PEACE. BUT IF WE GO INTO A LONG PROLONGED PERIOD WHERE NO ACTION IS TAKEN AND NO PROGRESS MADE, THEN THE CHANCES FOR MISCALCULATION AND MISUNDERSTANDING INCREASE.

6. Q. THERE HAD BEEN TALK ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF AN AMERICAN AREA HERE WHERE THEY WOULD HAVE EITHER A NAVAL BASE OR AN AMERICAN MILITARY BASE SOMEWHERE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, PERHAPS IN THE PERSIAN GULF. DO YOU THINK THAT THE AMERICAN SHOULD ESTABLISH SOME KIND OF A BASE IN THIS AREA?

A. I WOULD PREFER REGIONAL DEFENSE. I THINK CERTAINLY THROUGH OUR COOPERATIVE EFFORTS WITH THE SHAH, THE SALE OF 5 BILLION DOLLARS OF EQUIPMENT LAST YEAR WHICH REPRESENTED FIVE-EIGHTHS OF THE ENTIRE MILITARY SALES OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IN ONE YEAR, CERTAINLY OUR INDICATED SYMPATHY WITH WHAT HE HAS DONE IN OMAN, AND I HAVE TALKED WITH THE RULERS OF OMAN TO MAKE CERTAIN FIRSTHAND THE SHAH IS THERE AT THEIR URGING, THEIR INVITATION, AT THEIR REQUEST TO HELP IN THEIR DEFENSE, AND I BELIEVE THE PRESIDENT, THOUGH I HAVEN'T TALKED TO HIM DIRECTLY, HAS MADE A STATEMENT SINCE THEN, IS SUPPORTIVE OF WHAT IS BEING DONE BY IRAN IN THE REGIONAL DEFENSE. I HAVE BEEN ABOARD THE LASALLE AT BAHRAIN. I HAVE TALKED WITH ADMIRAL HANKS. I THINK OUR PRESENCE IN THE FREE SEAS OF THE WORLD AS THE GREATEST NAVAL FORCE IN THE WORLD, AND I AM A FORMER NAVAL OFFICER, I THINK THAT WE HAVE THE RIGHT TO MOVE ABOUT TO

FAMILIARIZE OURSELVES WITH THE AREA BECAUSE OUR FORCES
WILL ALWAYS BE USED IN A DEFENSIVE MEASURE TO HELP PRESERVE
THE PEACE, AND NEVER AS AN AGGRESSIVE NAVAL FORCE. BUT I
THINK WE'LL EXERCISE THOSE RIGHTS. WE'LL CONTINUE TO BUILD
THE GREATEST NAVAL FORCE IN THE WORLD AND I TRUST ALWAYS
IN THE INTERESTS OF ADEQUATE DEFENSE WHICH I THINK IS
NECESSARY TO BACKUP STRONG DIPLOMACY. DID I PHRASE IT AROUND
ENOUGH SO I REALLY DIDN'T ANSWER THE QUESTION? I AM NOT
SPEAKING FOR THE PENTAGON AND I SHOULDN'T BUT I AM TOLD BY
MY BRIEFINGS, BY THE NAVY. WE ARE CLEARED FOR SECRET; WE
ARE ALWAYS DEALT CANDIDLY WITH. I HAVE NO PRIVILEGE AT ALL
TO PASS THAT ON TO ANYONE NOT EVEN MY WIFE. SO THEREFORE I
CAN'T TELL YOU.

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FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

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INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN BY POUCH

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AMEMBASSY CAIRO BY POUCH

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS BY POUCH

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM BY POUCH

AMEMBASSY JIDDA BY POUCH

USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GERMANY BY POUCH

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7. Q. THERE ARE AMERICAN OFFICIALS WHO REPORTEDLY HAVE BEEN
SURPRISED AT THE AMOUNT OF AID RECENTLY REQUESTED BY ISRAEL.
THEY REPORTEDLY TALK THAT THE AMOUNT WAS VERY EXAGGERATED,
THAT ISRAEL WAS NOT TIGHTENING ITS BELT ENOUGH. WHAT ARE YOUR
COMMENTS ON THESE REPORTS, THESE IDEAS?

A. I DISCUSSED WITH FOREIGN MINISTER ALLON LAST NIGHT HIS
CONVERSATION WITH DR. KISSINGER IN WASHINGTON. I
WILL WANT TO STUDY FURTHER WHEN I GO BACK THE REQUEST THAT
HAVE BEEN MADE. BUT I THINK I CAN SAY IN GENERAL TERMS WITH
THE CONDITIONS WE HAVE AT HOME, WITH THE EMPHASIS THAT WE'RE
PLACING UPON DIPLOMACY AND OBVIOUSLY THE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

OF THE WORLD, ANY REQUEST OF THAT MAGNITUDE IS GOING TO HAVE VERY ROUGH GOING.

8. Q. SENATOR, YOU SPOKE OF EXTREMISTS IN GOVERNMENT. WHAT WOULD YOU CALL EXTREMISM IN ISRAEL?

A. OH, I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT THERE ARE HAWKS, EXTREMISTS AND HARDLINERS WHO ARE SO USED TO MAKING WAR AND PREPARING FOR WAR AND WAGING WAR AS THEY HAVE DONE A GOOD DEAL OF THEIR LIFETIME THAT THEY CAN'T REALLY THINK IN TERMS OF ALTERNATE COURSES. I THINK THEY WOULD PROBABLY PUSH ISRAEL INTO A WAR. I SEE THE SAME KIND IN THE ARAB WORLD. I SEE THE SAME KIND AND RECOGNIZE THEM IN MY OWN COUNTRY. THERE ARE ALWAYS THE UNCLASSIFIED

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HAWKS WHO WILL ALWAYS TRY TO FIND A SOLUTION TO PROBLEMS THROUGH MILITARY FORCE, AND I JUST END TO THINK THAT INCREASINGLY THAT IS BECOMING A VERY DIFFICULT WAY TO SOLVE PROBLEMS, AND I THINK INCREASINGLY OUR EMPHASIS IS UPON CREATIVE DIPLOMACY.

9. Q. HAVE YOU HEARD IN 29 YEARS ISRAEL SAY WE WILL DESTROY EGYPT, WE WILL DESTROY LEBANON, WE WILL DESTROY SYRIA? HAVE YOU HEARD THIS?

A. NO I DON'T THINK SO. BUT I THINK OBVIOUSLY IT'S VERY DIFFICULT FOR CITIZENS IN A SOUTH LEBANESE TOWN SITTING THERE ONE NIGHT AND THEN HAVING BOMBS RAINING DOWN UPON THAT TOWN AND KILL THEM, TO NOT THINK SO. WELL IN GENERAL TERMS I HAVE NEVER HEARD THAT, BUT NOW WE HAVE FELT THE EFFECT OF IT. WAR IS A TERRIBLE THING. AND THIS IS NOT A GENERAL THREAT. BUT ON THE OTHER HAND, EVERYTHING THAT WE CAN DO TO STOP AND DEFUSE THE SITUATION ON THE SOUTH LEBANESE BORDER, TO SEE THAT THE RAIDS THAT COME ACROSS AND THE COMMANDOS THAT COME ACROSS AND STRIKE ACROSS AN INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY AND OUR ARMISTICE LINE ARE STOPPED, SO THAT THERE IS NO NEED FOR RETALIATORY MEASURES. I THINK EVERYTHING THAT WE CAN DO OBVIOUSLY IS DESIRABLE. NOW WHAT I MEAN BY SAYING I HOPE ISRAEL WILL NOT LOSE SIGHT OF OUR GOAL IS THAT ISRAEL HAS LONG SOUGHT RECOGNITION BY THE ARAB WORLD OF ITS SOVEREIGNTY AND OF ITS RIGHT AS A PEOPLE TO EXIST IN PEACE AND FREEDOM. INCREASINGLY, THE ARAB WORLD IS SIGNALLING BY ITS WORDS, I TRUST BY ITS FUTURE ACTIONS, THAT THIS RIGHT HAS NOW BEEN WON BY ISRAEL, AND THAT SO FAR AS THEY ARE CONCERNED, IT'S GOING TO BE, I THINK, LIVE AND LET LIVE. I DON'T BLAME ISRAEL FOR BEING VERY CAUTIOUS. BUT I THINK THAT WHEN YOU NOW GET AND HEAR WHAT YOU LONG WANTED TO HEAR, LET US NOT MISS THE CHANCE TO TAKE THAT OPPORTUNITY TO SAY LET'S WRAP IT UP AND INSURE IT AND TAKE ALL THOSE MEASURES NECESSARY TO BE CERTAIN WE DO HAVE THAT COMMON ACCORD AND UNDERSTANDING. AS I SAID WHEN I JUST LEFT JORDAN, EVEN IN JORDAN I CAN'T FIND A MAP WITH THE STATE OF ISRAEL ON IT. ALL WE'RE ASKING IS THAT ISRAEL BE PUT ON THE MAP AND THAT IN THE ARAB WORLD IT NOT BE CALLED THE WHOLE

AREA OF PALESTINE BUT IT BE CALLED ISRAEL, AND THAT THEY
RECOGNIZE IT. AND THEN THAT THEY START TO DEAL DIRECT, FACE
TO FACE. I WANT TO SEE IN MY LIFETIME, AND NOT TOO FAR FROM
NOW, MODERATE, INTELLIGENT, CAPABLE LEADERS SUCH AS PRESIDENT
SADAT, SUCH AS PRIME MINISTER RABIN, I HOPE, SITTING DOWN
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ACROSS THE TABLE TALKING ABOUT BUILDING A GREATER MIDDLE EAST,
TALKING ABOUT ISRAEL BEING A PART OF THE MIDDLE EAST, BECAUSE
I THINK THE MIDDLE EAST NEEDS ITS TECHNOLOGY, ITS KNOWHOW,
ITS SKILL, ITS ABILITIES, THE THINGS IT'S LEARNED, TO TAKE
THIS LAND AND TURN IT INTO THE GREAT POTENTIAL THAT IT HAS.
BUT ALSO THERE ARE OTHER TREMENDOUS ASSETS THAT THE REST OF THE
ARAB WORLD HAS, AND I HOPE THAT PEOPLE IN THE ARAB COUNTRIES
WILL BE FREE TO TRAVEL HERE. I HOPE THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL WILL
BE FREE TO TRAVEL IN OUR LIFETIMES AND NOT WAIT FOR OUR CHILDREN
AND GRANDCHILDREN. EVENTUALLY, IT IS GOING TO COME. WHY NOT
NOW.

10. Q. ON YOUR NEXT VISIT, DO YOU HOPE THAT YOU WILL SEE
A MAP IN JORDAN WITH ISRAEL ON IT?

A. WELL, I WOULD NOT WANT TO PUT A TIME LIMIT ON IT, BECAUSE
EVEN PRINTING MAPS TAKES TIME. AND I WOULD LIKE TO COME BACK
TO JORDAN. I HAD A FINE VISIT THERE, AND I CONSIDER KING
HUSSEIN, WHO I HAVE MET A NUMBER OF TIMES BEFORE, AGAIN
TYPICAL OF THE MODERATE PEACE-LOVING LEADERSHIP THAT DOES EXIST
IN THIS PART OF THE WORLD. AND IT IS MY HOPE, AND I FREELY
EXPRESSED MYSELF THAT WAY IN THE ARAB COUNTRIES, THAT THEY'LL
REALLY RECOGNIZE THAT. UNIVERSALLY, ALMOST ALL OF THEM SAID
LOOK WE DO RECOGNIZE THE RIGHT OF ISRAEL TO EXIST AND LIVE IN
PEACE. WE WANT THAT SAME WISH NOW FOR OURSELVES. LET'S WORK
TOGETHER TO FIND IT. AND I CANNOT HELP BUT BELIEVE THAT THAT
OPPORTUNITY DOES EXIST DESPITE THE CYNICISM OF SOME OF YOU.

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ACTION H-03

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R 280942Z JAN 75

FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

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INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN BY POUCH

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT BY POUCH

AMEMBASSY CAIRO BY POUCH

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS BY POUCH

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM BY POUCH

AMEMBASSY JIDDA BY POUCH

USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GERMANY BY POUCH

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11. Q. WOULD YOU INCLUDE PRESIDENT ASAD AS A MODERATE, PEACE-
LOVING LEADER?

A. FROM WHAT HE SAID TO ME I THINK HE IS SEEKING A SOLUTION TO
THIS PROBLEM. OBVIOUSLY, IT IS MORE DIFFICULT FOR SOME, SOME
HAVE COME FARTHER THAN OTHERS, BUT I THINK THAT THE VERY FACT
THAT SECRETARY KISSINGER DID MAKE PROGRESS WITH SYRIA, AND I
THINK THERE IS EVIDENCE THAT I HAVE SEEN OF MORE PROGRESS THAT
CAN BE MADE. I THINK THAT WE SHOULD ASSUME THAT PEACE IS
DESIRED BY THE SYRIAN PEOPLE ALSO, AND THAT ITS LEADERSHIP
WILL REFLECT THAT DESIRE ON THE PART OF THOSE PEOPLE.

12. Q. I WOULD LIKE YOU TO REMARK ABOUT THE AMOUNT OF WAR
MATERIALS THAT IS SOLD BY THE U.S. TO THE WHOLE AREA.
IT'S VERY EVENLY HANDED OUT. BUSINESS IS GOOD, I APPRECIATE,
BUT IS THIS CONSTRUCTIVE? IS THIS GOING TO BRING US THIS
PEACE YOU SAY WE HAVE GOT TO RECOGNIZE? I AM FROM THE
UNITED STATES.

A. ALWAYS, ALWAYS THERE IS A CHANCE THAT AMERICAN WEAPONS
COULD BE USED AGAINST AMERICAN WEAPONS, AND LIVES LOST BECAUSE
OF THAT. BUT AS I UNDERSTAND THE SAUDIS FOR INSTANCE, WHO
RECEIVED PERMISSION TO BUY 750 MILLION DOLS OF EQUIPMENT,
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THEY HAVE NOT BEEN LOOKED UPON AS A DIRECT CONFRONTATION OR
THREAT, AND THEY DO NOT INTEND TO BE, AND THEY DO HAVE
SOME CONCERNS ABOUT THEMSELVES, AND LIKE ANY NATION FEEL THEY
HAVE THE RIGHT TO HAVE AN ADEQUATE DEFENSE. CERTAINLY IN
JORDAN, IN THE TRANSshipment FROM THE SHAH OF 250 MILLION
DOLS, WE HAVE HAD A PROGRAM OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE AND
ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO THE PEOPLE OF JORDAN SINCE 1949. THIS IS
SIMPLY A CONTINUATION OF THAT POLICY. IF WE HAD REJECTED,
TURNED DOWN SAUDI ARABIA AT THIS TIME WITH THE UNIQUE OPPOR-
TUNITY WE HAVE TO HAVE THEIR INFLUENCE USED FOR PEACE AND
HOPEFULLY FOR MODERATION, IT MAY HAVE MADE IT MORE DIFFICULTY

FOR US. AND I CAN ONLY INDICATE THAT FROM ALL I KNOW, THERE IS NOT ONE IOTA OF PRESSURE THAT WOULD COUNT ANYTHING FROM THE SO CALLED MILITARY INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX THAT WOULD CAUSE A DECISION TO BE MADE BECAUSE OF THAT. THE OVERRIDING DECISION IN SECRETARY KISSINGER'S MIND IS WHAT STEPS WILL BRING ABOUT OUR OPPORTUNITIES AND OUR CHANCES TO BRING WHAT WE ALL WANT-- PEACE, DESPITE ANY FEELING THAT IT IS JUST DONE FOR THE SELLING OF ARMS. I CAN ASSURE YOU WAR IN THE END IS MORE COSTLY TO AMERICA THAN ANY MINISCULE PROFIT MADE FROM THE SALE OF ARMS. WE ARE NOT IN THAT BUSINESS AS A NATION. I WISH WE COULD GO OUT OF THE ARMS BUSINESS. BUT THAT IS NOT THE NATURE OF THE WORLD. AS YOU WELL KNOW, IF THE U.S. DID NOT SELL ARMS, THERE WOULD BE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AND OTHER COUNTRIES THAT WOULD BE READY AND HAPPY TO STEP UP AND SUPPLY THOSE ARMS, PARTICULARLY WHEN THEY CAN SELL THEM AND NOT GIVE THEM AWAY. BUT YOU ALWAYS TAKE A RISK IN THIS. YOU ALWAYS DO.

13. Q. YOU EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT THE MORE MODERATE ARAB LEADERS COULD CONTROL THE EXTREMISTS. DID YOU MEAN THE PALESTINIANS WITH THE TERRORIST? AND SECONDLY, DO YOU THINK THAT THESE MODERATES COULD ALSO DETERMINE THE RUSSIAN COURSE OF POLICY?

A. WELL I THINK THAT WE ALL KNOW THAT THOUGH ARAFAT IS NOT LOOKED UPON AS A SUNDAY SCHOOL CHOIR LEADER, THERE ARE MORE EXTREMISTS THAN HE IN THE MOVEMENT. THE FACT THAT HE DID CONDEMN THE ONLY AIRPLANE INCIDENT I THINK IS EVIDENCE OF THAT. THE MESSAGE I GET FROM THE ARAB WORLD IS THE HIGH REGARD THEY HAVE FOR PALESTINIANS, AND I THINK YOU HAVE A

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HIGH REGARD HERE FOR MANY PALESTINIANS. THEY HAVE BEEN VERY IMPORTANT IN THE AREA. THEIR TALENTS, THEIR SKILLS ARE SCATTERED THROUGHOUT THE ARAB WORLD. THEY ARE MAKING A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION TO MANY OF THOSE GOVERNMENTS. I THINK THAT PALESTINE HAS THE CAPABILITY TO PULL ITSELF TOGETHER AND BE A VIABLE BODY. IT'S YET TO BE PROVEN, OF COURSE, BUT THERE ARE MORE EXTREMISTS THAN ARAFAT IN THE MOVEMENT. AND MY QUESTION ALWAYS TO THE ARAB LEADERS IS DO YOU FEEL THAT BY THE CREATION OF A STATE OF PALESTINE, SHOULD THERE EVER BE A STATE CREATED, THAT IT WOULD BE A THREAT TO THE WHOLE AREA. BECAUSE AFTER ALL IN A SENSE THE ARAB COUNTRIES HAVE MORE TO CONSERVE THAN ANYONE ELSE. AND EXTREMISTS IN CHARGE OF A STATE PUT IN THEIR MIST HERE COULD BE A DANGER AND A THREAT TO EVERYONE INCLUDING THE PEACE OF THE AREA. IT IS MY FEELING THAT THE COMMITMENTS MADE AT RABAT BY ARAFAT TO HIS OWN ARAB BROTHERS, AS THEY WOULD CALL THEMSELVES, ARE HE WOULD BE HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR THOSE COMMITMENTS. AND THEY HAVE NO INTEREST IN SEEING SOMETHING STARTED OR CREATED

HERE THAT WOULD THEN CAUSE MORE TROUBLE RATHER THAN HELP
SOLVE A GIVEN PROBLEM. BUT WE'RE A LONG WAY FRO KNOWING
THE PARAMETERS OF IT OR THE CONDITIONS OF IT. THAT DOES NOT
COME IN THE SECOND OR THIRD STEP EVEN.

14. Q. SENATOR, DID YOU GET ANY FEELINGS OF ANXIETY BY THE
ARAB LEADERS THAT THE U.S. MAY TRY TO TAKE OVER THE
OILFIELDS IF THERE IS EVER AN EMBARGO?

A. I WAS UNIVERSALLY QUESTIONED, WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS, BY
LITERALLY EVERYONE IN THE AREA AS TO WHAT SECRETARY
KISSINGER MEANT BY HIS BUSINESS WEEK COMMENTS. THERE WAS
CONERN.

15. Q. BUT THAT DOESN'T ANSWER THE SECOND PART OF MY QUESTION--
WHETHER YOU THOUGHT THE MODERAE ARAB LEADERS COULD ALSO DETER-
MINE RUSSIAN POLICY OR TALK WIT THE RUSSIANS?

A. I BELIEVE SO. I THINK IT IS IN THEIR INTERESTS TO QUELL
THE EXTREMISTSS, TO NOT BE DRIVEN INTO A WAR AND TO NOT BE
PROVOKED INTO A WAR THAT THEY COULD NOT CONTROL, BECAUSE
THEY WOULD BE PAYING, AND THEIR PEOPLE WOULD BE PAYING THE
PRICE FOR IT. I THINK THAT IS THE ROLE OF EVERY MODERATE
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GOVT-- TO PREVENT EXTREMISTS ON BOTH SIDES FROM FORCING
THEIR HAND AND FORCING THEM INTO A COURSE OF ACTION THAT
THEY DO NOT FEEL IS RIGHT. AND I HAVE EVERY CONFIDENCE THAT
PRIME MINISTER RABIN WILL NOT BE FORCED INTO A POLICY THAT
HE DOES NOT THINK IS IN THE BEST INTERESTS AND THE NATIONAL
INTERESTS OF HIS NATION AND HIS PEOPLE.

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ACTION H-03

INFO OCT-01 NEA-09 ISO-00 SS-07 NSC-06 AID-01 RSC-01 /028 W

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FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5398
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN BY POUCH
AMEMBASSY BEIRUT BY POUCH
AMEMBASSY CAIRO BY POUCH
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS BY POUCH
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM BY POUCH
AMEMBASSY JIDDA BY POUCH
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GERMANY BY POUCH

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16. Q. DO YOU GET THE FEELING THAT KISSINGER WAS HURT IN THE ARAB WORLD BY THE BUSINESS WEEK STATEMENT?

A. HE HAS A TREMDOUS RESERVOIR OF GOODWILL AND I THINK THEY BETTER UNDERSTOOD IT WHEN THEY READ IT COMPLETELY. AT FIRST I WAS QUITE SURPRISED TO FIND THAT LITERALLY NO ONE HAD READ THE FULL CONTEXT IN WHICH THE STATEMENT HAD BEEN MADE. THEY BELIEVED THE HEADLINE OF THE PAPER AND EVERYONE OF YOU WOULD KNOW THAT'S A FOOLISH THING TO DO. YOU WOULDN'T BELIEVE EVERY HEADLINE. IN FACT, YOU DON'T WRITE THE HEADLINES. AND MANY TIMES YOU'RE AS ENRAGED ABOUT THE HEADLINE THAT IS PUT ON THE COPY OF A PIECE OF REPORTING THAT YOU'VE DONE. AND THEY SHOULD NOT HAVE PLACED THAT MUCH EMPHASIS BECAUSE CLEARLY IN REREADING THE STATEMENT WHAT THE SECRETARY WAS CATEGORICALLY SAYING IS THAT WE WOULD NOT BE PUSHED BY THE HAWKS IN OUR COUNTRY INTO USING FORCE OF ARMS BECAUSE OF RISES IN OIL PRICES. AND THAT WAS THE MESSAGE THAT HE REALLY WANTED TO GET ACROSS. AND UNFORTUNATELY HE TOOK AND ANSWERED A HYPOTHETICAL QUESTION IN A HYPOTHETICAL SITUATION AND THAT WAS THE ANSWER THAT CAME OUT RATHER THAN WHAT HE REALLY INTENDED SHOULD BE GIVEN THE EMPHASIS. BECAUSE HE WAS ANSWERING THOSE WHO WOULD PUSH HIM INTO THE USE OF FORCE AND SABER RATTLING JUST BECAUSE OF THE RISE IN THE PRICE OF OIL. WE THINK WE CAN UNCLASSIFIED

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ADJUST TO THAT IN MANY OTHER WAYS. IT'S NOT GOING TO BE EASY, BUT WE NEVER CONTEMPLATED THE USE OF FORCE BECAUSE OF EVEN THE QUADRUPLING OF OIL PRICES. WE CAN FIND A BETTER ANSWER THAN FORCE. I'LL TAKE A COUPLE MORE QUESTIONS.

17. Q. DO YOU THINK THAT NOW SENATOR JAVITS HAS SUGGESTED INCREASING THE CREDITS OFFERED TO THE RUSSIANS BEYOND THREE HUNDRED MILLION DOLLARS THAT OUR FUTURE TRADE AGREEMENTS WITH THE RUSSIANS WILL STILL BE TIED TO THE JACKSON AGREEMENT?

A. I AM NOT SURE, I HAVEN'T BEEN BACK AND TALKED TO ANY OF MY COLLEAGUES SINCE THE RUSSIAN DECISION, AND I WOULD RATHER NOT HYPOTHEZIZE ON THAT QUESTION. I WOULD RATHER DEAL WITH

IT FACTUALLY AND I JUST DON'T KNOW.

18. Q. WILL YOU BE A CANDIDATE FOR THE PRESIDENCY?

A. WHEN? 1976? HIGHLY UNLIKELY. IN FACT I THINK AT THIS STAGE I WOULD SAY NO. IN FOUR YEARS? IF YOU TALKED ABOUT IT SOME OTHER TIME, I WOULD NOT CLOSE THE DOOR.

19. Q. DO YOU THINK THAT WITH THE NEW MOOD SWEEPING THROUGH CONGRESS THAT THERE WILL BE MORE ATTEMPTS TO CONTROL THE ACTIONS OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE, THAT FOREIGN POLICY WILL COME CLOSER TO CONGRESS, THAT CONGRESS WILL TRY TO HANDLE MORE OF IT IN ORDER TO BE MORE IN POLICY.

A. I THINK THERE WILL BE A CONTINUATION OF THE STEADY POLICY OF THE CONGRESS TO REASSERT ITS CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITIES WHICH WE HAVE ABROGATED SO FREELY IN THE PAST BEGINNING WITH THE VIETNAM WAR. THAT I THINK SO SHOCKED US THAT THE CONSTITUTION SAYS ONLY CONGRESS CAN DECLARE WAR WHEN WE REALIZED IT IS OUT OF STYLE TO DECLARE WAR. THERE IS NO DECLARED WAR IN THE MID EAST. IT NEVER HAS BEEN. NEVER BETWEEN INDIA AND PAKISTAN WHEN THEY WERE FIGHTING. NEVER BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH VIETNAM, NORTH AND SOUTH KOREA. SO WE HAVE TO REDEFINE WHAT IS MEANT BY THE CONSTITUTION. SENATOR JAVITS AND I AND SENATOR STENNIS, AN UNLIKELY TRIUMVIRATE, WORKED VERY CLOSELY TOGETHER AND WE OVERWHELMINGLY OVERRULED THE PRESIDENT'S VETO. I THINK MORE AGREEMENTS WILL HAVE TO BECOME TREATIES. I CERTAINLY THINK THAT IF THERE ARE

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GUARANTIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST THAT THE SENATE OF THE U.S. THE CONGRESS OF THE U.S. WILL WANT TO BECOME INVOLVED. I DO NOT THINK THAT THE PRESIDENT WOULD ASSUME OR TAKE ON HIMSELF A COMMITMENT OF THAT CONSEQUENCE WITHOUT WANTING THE BACKING OF THE ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH INDEED. END OF TRANSCRIPT.
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